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DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun,

On the Sub-Treasury Bill.

March 10, 1838.

Mr. CLAY, in continuation.

But he has left no party, and joined no party! No! None. With the daily evidences before us of his frequent association, counselling, and acting with the other party, he would tax our credulity too much to require us to believe that he has formed no connexion with it. He may stand upon his reserved rights, but they must be mentally reserved, for they are not obvious to the senses. Abandoned no party? Why this letter proclaims his having quitted us, and assigns his reasons for doing it; one of which is that we are in favor of that national bank which the Senator himself has sustained about 21 years out of the 27 that he has been in public life. Whatever impression the Senator may endeavor to make without the Senate upon the country at large, no man within the Senate, who has eyes to see, or ears to hear, can mistake his present position and party connexion. If, in the speech which I addressed to the Senate on a former day, there had been a single fact stated which was not perfectly true, or an inference drawn which was not fully warranted, or any description of his situation which was incorrect, no man would enjoy greater pleasure than I should do in rectifying the error. If, in the picture which I portrayed of the Senator and his course, there be any thing which can justly give him dissatisfaction, he must look to the original and not to the painter. The conduct of an eminent public man is a fair subject for exposure and animadversion. When I addressed the Senate before, I had just perused this letter. I recollected all its reproaches and imputations against us, and those which were made or implied in the speech of the honorable Senator were also fresh in my memory. Does he expect to be allowed to cast such imputations, and make such reproaches against others, without retaliation? Holding myself amenable for my public conduct, I choose to animadvert upon his, and upon that of others, whenever circumstances, in my judgment, render it necessary, and I do it, under all just responsibility which belongs to the exercise of such a privilege.

The Senator has thought proper to exercise a corresponding privilege towards myself, and, without being very specific, has taken upon himself to impute to me the charge of going over upon some former occasion, and that in a manner which left my motive no matter of conjecture. If the Senator means to allude to the stale and refuted calumny of George Kremer, I assure him I can hear it without the slightest emotion; and if he can find any fragment of that rent banner to cover his own abberrations, he is perfectly at liberty to enjoy all the shelter which it affords. In my case there was no going over about it: I was a member of the House of Representatives, and had to give a vote for one of three candidates for the Presidency. Mr. Crawford's unfortunate physical condition placed him out of the question. The choice was, therefore, limited to the venerable gentleman from Massachusetts, or to the distinguished inhabitant of the Hermitage. I could give but one vote, and accordingly as I stated on a former occasion, I gave the vote which, before I left Kentucky, I communicated to my colleague, (Mr. Crittenden,) it was my intention to give in the contingency which happened. I have never for one moment regretted the vote I then gave. It is true that the Legislature of Kentucky had requested of the representatives from that state to vote for General Jackson; but my own immediate constituents, I knew well, were opposed to his election, and it was their will, and not that of the Legislature, according to every principle applicable to the doctrine of instructions, which I was, to deposite in the ballot box. It is their glory and my own never to have concurred in the elevation of General Jackson. They ratified and confirmed my vote, and every representative that they have sent to Congress since, including my friend the present member, has concurred with me in opposition to the election and administration of General Jackson.

If my information be not entirely incorrect, and there was any going over in the presidential election which terminated in February, 1825, the Senator from South Carolina, and not I, went over. I have understood that the Senator when he ceased to be in favor of himself, that is after the memorable movement made in Philadelphia by the present Minister to Russia, withdrawing his name from the canvass, was the known supporter of the election of Mr. Adams. What motives induced him afterwards to unite in the election of General Jackson, I know not. It is not my habit to impute to others uncharitable motives, and I leave the Senator to settle that account with his own conscience and his country. No, sir, I have no reproaches to make myself, and feel perfectly invulnerable to any attack from others, on account of any part which I took in the election of 1825. And I look back with entire and conscious satisfaction upon the whole course of the arduous administration which ensued.

The Senator from South Carolina thinks it is my misfortune to be always riding some hobby, and that I stick to it till I ride it down. I think it is his never to stick to one long enough. He is like a courier, who, riding from post to post, with relays of fresh horses, when he changes his steed, seems to forget altogether the last which he had mounted. Now, it is a part of my pride and pleasure to say, that I never in my life changed my deliberate opinion upon any great measure of national policy but once, and that was twenty-two years ago, on the question of the power to establish a Bank of the U. States. The change was wrought by the sad and disastrous experience of the want of such an institution growing out of the calamities of war. It was a change which I made in common with Mr. Madison, two Governors of Virginia, and the great body of the Republican party to which I have ever belonged.

No, sir, the Senator from South Carolina is free from all reproach of sticking to hobbies. He was for a Bank of the United States in 1816. He proposed, supported, and with his accustomed ability, carried through the charter. He sustained it upon the admitted grounds of its constitutionality, of which he never once breathed the expression of a doubt. During the twenty years of its continuance no scruple ever escaped from him as to the power to create it. And in 1834, when it was about to expire, he deliberately advocated the renewal of its charter for a term of twelve years more. However profound he may suppose the power of analysis to be, and whatever opinion he may entertain of his own metaphysical faculty, can he imagine that any plain, practical, common sense man, can comprehend how it is constitutional to prolong an unconstitutional bank for the space of twelve years? He may surround such a proposition with as many circumstances and conditions as he pleases; he may dress it up and decorate it with as much drapery and encompass it with as many distinctions and qualifications as his imagination can invent; it comes at last to this: a Bank of the United States is constitutional, or it is not. If it is unconstitutional in its origin, it is unconstitutional throughout every subsequent stage of its existence. And if it be admissible to continue such an unconstitutional institution for one term of twelve years, it may be continued another and another, to the end of time.

The distinguished Senator sticks long to no hobby. He was once gaily mounted on that of internal improvements. We rode that double, the Senator sitting before and I behind him. He quietly slipped off, leaving me to hold the bridle. He introduced and carried through Congress in 1816, the bill setting apart the large bonus of the Bank of the United States for internal improvements. His speech delivered on that occasion, does not intimate the smallest question as to the constitutional power of the Government, but proceeds upon the assumption of its being incontestable. When he was subsequently in the Department of War, he made to Congress a brilliant report, sketching as splendid and magnificent a scheme of internal improvements for the entire nation as ever was presented to the admiration and wonder of mankind. Where is he now? For myself, I am just where I was then, as to the existence of the power, although I am willing to admit that the altered condition of the country has lessened the degree of necessity for its exercise. During the progress of the land bill, it may be remembered that I said—"Pass this bill, and you will forever settle the power of the government over internal improvements." Although that measure unfortunately failed, for reasons already stated, there is now little or no occasion for the aid and interposition of the General Government. But the power remains in the constitution; and if it be not practically exercised, it will be like other dormant powers contained in the same instrument. And in respect to the power to protect American industry, it is just as much now in the Constitution as it was in 1816, when the Senator from South Carolina espoused the policy with so much zeal and ability; just as fixed there as it was regarded from the commencement of the government down to 1820 or 1822, when for the first time it was controverted. Under its beneficent operation, thousands have been enabled to obtain a competency, many to acquire wealth, who otherwise would never have known either. No patriot heart can fail to expand with exultation at the blessings which it has diffused. It has placed us in equal competition with some of the powers most advanced in civilization; and in spite of all that has been insidiously done against the interest, and which is still doing, our cherished manufactures will, I trust, stand up and maintain themselves against the unnatural hostility at home, and all jealous rivalry abroad.

The Senator from South Carolina gets tired of his hobbies too soon. The whole country was filled with just alarm at the fearful strides of Executive power; and judging from the tone of the Senator's speeches, and the strenuousness of his exertions, no one was more anxious than he, but a few short months ago, to reduce it within safe and constitutional limits. But he suddenly goes over to a party which maintains to the very letter the whole extent of the power ever claimed by the Executive Department—maintains that in a free, intelligent, and responsible Government, every subordinate Executive officer is bound implicitly to obey the will of the President, and that he may exercise at his discretion the tremendous power of dismission, not only without assigning reasons, but without the smallest practical or available responsibility for its exercise. His efforts have not only ceased to restrain and circumscribe the power, but he supports a measure which will give to it a vast augmentation. I repeat what I have so often said, that if this Executive bank is to be sanctioned by Congress, it will be the utter destruction of all other banks in the country. We shall have, in fact, ultimately but one bank, and that a Treasury bank, exclusively controlled by the Executive, emitting all the paper medium in circulation, and amassing and hoarding the greater part of the specie of the country. We shall have, in short, that perfect union of the sword and the purse, which all real patriots have ever so much dreaded. I think, when the honorable Senator undertakes to establish his own consistency, he assumes a Herculean task, beyond his powers, great and gigantic as he believes them to be. He may have all the speeches he has ever delivered, read to us in an audible voice, by the Secretary, and call upon the Senate attentively to hear them, beginning with his speech in *favor* of a bank of the United States in 1816, down to his speech *against* a bank of the United States, delivered the other day, and he will have made no progress in his task. I do not speak this in any unkind spirit; but I will tell the honorable Senator when he will be consistent. He will be so, when he resolves henceforward, during the residue of his life, never to pronounce the word again. We began our public career nearly together; we remained together throughout the war and down to the peace. We agreed as to a bank of the United States—as to a protective tariff—as to internal improvements—and lately, as to those arbitrary and violent measures which characterised the Administration of General Jackson. No two prominent public men ever agreed better together in respect to important measures of national policy. We concur now in nothing. We separate forever.

The Senator sometimes says, that he is going to fall back upon the Republican party of 1827. Then it is the entire South which he would unite. Then it is the Republican party of 98. He professes to rally on Mr. Madison's resolutions; but he and Mr. Madison never could agree about their true import. The Senator deduced nullification from those resolutions. But nullification never entered into the head of Mr. Madison. That pure and enlightened patriot never could comprehend how a Confederacy of 26 states could get along at all, if any one of its members could, at its pleasure, set aside and nullify the will of the whole. The Senator, too, professes to belong to the Republican party of '98, but I fear we should differ as much about its real tenets and doctrines as we do in respect to any constitutional question. The Senator has allowed himself to use some expressions not very customary or parliamentary in deliberate assemblies; I shall not imitate his example in the employment of them. But I beg leave to assure him of my feelings of perfect and entire reciprocity.

The Senator appeals to his present party, rallies his new allies, and cries out to them that victory is ahead, to which he will lead them. Pass the bill, he exclaims, and decide the long vexed question, and thus put an end to all controversy. But does the Senator, and do any of his friends suppose, that if their bill shall pass this Senate by a majority of one or two votes, and the other House by a similar majority, it will pour oil on the troubled waters, and give peace to this distracted country? No, sir, no. The upturned business, the embarrassment, and the threatened ruin of the community, are not to be restored to order and prosperity in that way. I know that in other countries, and in other times, it has been a common calculation with tyranny, that when the tyrant nods, his will is to be obeyed and submission to ensue. But Senators need not "lay that flattering unction to their souls." The people of this country are too enlightened, too well acquainted with their interests and rights, and too firmly resolved at all hazards to maintain them, quietly to submit to a measure fraught with such ruin and danger to their liberties as this is. The supporters of this bill seem determined, if they can, to reverse the great principle, which lies at the foundation of all our institutions. That principle is, that the popular will flows from the People into the Legislative Halls, and controls, directs, and modifies all measures, intended for the advancement of their happiness. But this bill treats the known will of the people with sovereign contempt, and substitutes the will of the servant for the will of the master. It proceeds upon the fallacious assumption that the servants of the people know better than the people themselves what will best promote their happiness. It is in vain that you put on the screws, and attempt to force from them reluctant acquiescence by cutting off every other prospect of relief. It is in vain that you pronounce your veto against a national bank, and promulgate to the world your solemn declaration that the people shall not have one, although it should be manifest that there is a clear majority of them demanding it. It is in vain that you should denounce, and lay your unhallowed hands on the domestic institutions of the states, endeared to them by long habit and cherished affection. Do not deceive yourselves. There may be those who are bold while here, acting in the sunshine of Executive power; but when they return to their constituents, whose will or whose instructions they have defied, they will find in their frowns, their indignation and their maledictions, that the power of the people is superior to the power and influence of their most exalted magistrate, whether in office or in retirement.

[When Mr. Clay resumed his seat, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Preston both rose. The Chair gave the floor to]

MR. PRESTON, who said that nothing could be more unexpected or painful to him than the necessity under which he found himself of interrupting for a moment the discussion between the Senator from Kentucky and his colleague. He well knew that in the general expectation of the public, and by the acquiescence of the Senate, the day and the occasion were appropriated and set apart for those gentlemen, and he had taken his seat, not doubting that he should listen in silence, to which his health as well as all the proprieties of the occasion seemed to consign him. But (said Mr. Preston) no condition of my health, no dread of violating an unexpected order of proceeding, no rule or ceremonious observance, can compel me to silence under the remarks of the Senator from Kentucky in regard to my state. If they had been personal to myself, I might submit in silence, or postpone a reply for a more fit occasion, without breaking in upon the unity of the present scene; but the honorable Senator has thought proper to indulge a course of remarks upon certain recent and conspicuous acts of my state, pressed, as it seems to me, unnecessarily into this discussion, which I will at once resent and repel.

I have remained silent when vulgar witlings have sought to amuse themselves or others by a poor jest on nullification; and I have heard, without emotion, the efforts of underling politicians, who, ever and anon, supply a vacuity of sense by a puny and innocent tirade against South Carolina. Such things are to be expected from such quarters, and may be well submitted to in silence and indifference; but when these poor topics are rescued from contempt in the only way by which this can be effected, by that adventitious consequence derived from the dignity and position of him who uses them, they become worthy of animadversion, not on their own account, but on account of the party resorting to them.

In the contest which South Carolina waged with this government, whether she was right or wrong, no man of right mind, who knows the circumstances, will perceive matter for jest or ridicule. Her course is now history. She acted in patriotism and honor. Her principles were openly asserted, her purposes boldly avowed; wrong or right, she fearlessly assumed her ground, calmly arrayed herself against the whole power of this government, sternly retorted the frowns of a tyrant, armed as he was by the eager haste of a servile legislature, with all the power of the country, in or out of the constitution; and when the personal passions of the Chief Magistrate, ministered to and inflamed by the ready zeal of the most thoroughly devoted party which this country ever saw, were joined and sustained by the greediness of the manufacturing interest in measures of military violence, were there any symptoms of irresolution, of giving back, amongst us? Did the honorable Senator see any sign of fear at home, or hesitancy amongst those who so well and so nobly represented us here? Did we not hurl back the proclamation in the teeth of those who issued it? Did we not upon this floor answer argument by argument and threat by scorn, while at home the state armed herself to repel force by force? Did any one who looked upon the scene in this Senate, and our actors in it; did any one who looked to us at home, even from this distance, see any where the bearing of men, whose names could be mentioned, except in the vulgar violence of pampered power, in any connexion with an ignominious death, or whose conduct and destiny could in any event be associated but with honor and respect? Slaughtered we might have been, crushed and overwhelmed, perhaps, but the honorable Senator did not understand the occasion, nor does he know the people of whom he speaks, if he believes that the crisis of 1833 could have passed but by *war*, or concession on the part of this government—compromise, if the word be more palatable.

Well, sir, the compromise bill was passed, and went forth with healing on its wings. It was hailed as the harbinger of peace, and was understood to be the result of mutual concessions, made in a high spirit of patriotism, for the purpose of smoothing the heats which threatened the country. In such a spirit, unquestionably, we acceded to the compromise, surrendering, for its sake, a portion of our interests, which in justice might have been insisted on; and, in such a spirit, we supposed the honorable Senator, as the representative of the manufacturing interest, had given his consent to the arrangement. These high and holy purposes I attributed to the honorable gentleman, and to those who acted with him, on that occasion. I thought him entitled to the glory of having acted from no personal motive, from nothing that savored of party feeling, but from a broad patriotism, or the broader principles of that code which promises blessings to the peace-makers. And on this high ground I have always understood the gentleman then placed himself; but his declarations to-day show that he is discontented with that position, and he prefers to have it known that his object was to drive a good bargain for the manufacturers; and that his views of peace did not extend beyond saving a good fellow or two from an ignominious death; that he did not believe that danger existed, or that South Carolina intended aught but child's play. The honorable Senator has a right to establish the relation in which he stands to the transactions of that day, and to correct the history of them, which had falsely, as it now appears, assigned so different, and, in my judgment, so much nobler an attitude to the honorable Senator. He now permits it to be understood that, when he seemed to compromise with South-Carolina, it was, in fact, but securing the tariff against Gen. Jackson; and that, when he talked of the harmony of the Union, and the peace of the land, he did not, in fact, consider either in the slightest danger. In all this he was totally mistaken; as much mistaken in regard to us, and we were to him. We were anxious to avoid, but not afraid to meet, a collision. We, at least, were in earnest, when we said we were willing to fight for our cause, or to compromise for peace. We were resolute and armed; and when the honorable Senator speaks of that period in the light tone he has assumed, he treats it in a way inconsistent with the true character of the crisis, with his own dignity, and with the dignity of this Chamber.

Mr. CLAY. I am happy, although the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Preston) has totally misconceived me, to have been the occasion of the very eloquent vindication of his own state which he has just pronounced. He complains of my allusion to Nullification. His complaint ought not to be of me, but of his colleague (Mr. Calhoun,) whose exultation at the supposed overthrow of the protective policy, through the instrumentality of Nullification, has reluctantly extorted from me an exposition of the truth. But, Mr. President, nothing was further from my purpose than to cast the slightest imputation upon the gallant and patriotic state of South Carolina, or any of her citizens. In my opinion she was eminently wrong in that memorable contest; but I never doubted her sincerity, or her gallantry. I never doubted that, in the land of Marion, of Sumpter, and of Pickens, there were many of their descendants equally noble and brave, and that the people of South-Carolina would, upon all proper occasions, maintain the high character which they have so just-

ly acquired. And among the Nullifiers themselves I personally know that there are many as high-minded, as brave, and as patriotic, as any part of the American people. I would as soon go to them to find friends on whom I could confidently rely, in any possible emergency, as to any men on earth. But the Senator must excuse me for believing that South Carolina alone could have beaten all the rest of the United States, and for thinking that I justly described the inequality of such a contest in the parallel which I drew of the relative strength of the two parties. Nor did I, in the allusion which I made to what passed at the session of 1832-3 between my excellent friend (John M. Clayton) and myself, intend to intimate that the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Calhoun,) or any of his colleagues, deserved the ignominious death with which they had been menaced. Neither of us thought they did; but we had heard the current report of the threats of President Jackson to apply it to certain gentlemen in South Carolina, the Senator from South Carolina himself (Mr. Calhoun) among them, and hence the remark of Mr. Clayton.

Equally has the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Preston) misapprehended me in another respect. I did not say, or intimate, that it was a leading or principal motive in the compromise act to save his colleague and others from the halter. I stated that although I had no dread of the power of South Carolina alone, I did not know how far, if a civil war were once kindled, the flames might extend, and whether from sympathy other southern states might not during its progress become involved in the contest. The motive for the passage of the compromise act were, 1st, to prevent a civil war, and to protect South Carolina from impending danger; 2d, to preserve the tariff, threatened with a total overthrow, which would have taken place at the next session; to insure stability, during a long term of years, to the policy of protection, and to save the manufacturers from the absolute ruin and prostration with which they were menaced; and, 3d, to avoid the necessity of placing a large army, and vast military resources, at the disposal of President Jackson, animated as he was by a spirit of resentment and vengeance towards South Carolina and some of her most prominent citizens. I had no confidence in the discretion of the President, and I was unwilling to see him invested with an immense military power, of the prudent use of which I saw no adequate security.

Such was the combination of motives which prompted me to propose, and I have no doubt actuated my friends in sanctioning the compromise act. I trust now, sir, that the Senator from South Carolina (Mr. Preston) will see that I made no attack upon his state, or its citizens, which required of him his vindication. If the contest had not happily been averted, I have no doubt that the people of South Carolina would have fought with as much firmness, resolution and bravery, as any people ever did; but I can but believe that the issue of it could not have been doubtful, and must have been, inevitably, most disastrous to her gallant sons and her fair fields.

Mr. CALHOUN rose in rejoinder. The Senator from Kentucky says that the sentiments contained in my Edgefield letter then met his view for the first time, and that he read that document with equal pain and amazement. Now, it does happen that I expressed those self-same sentiments just as strongly in 1834, in a speech which was received with unbounded applause by that gentleman's own party, and of which a vast number of copies were published and circulated throughout the United States. The speech is on the Secretary's table, and I will thank him to read the extract I have marked.

The Secretary of the Senate here read as follows:

"A very few words will place this point beyond controversy. To the interposition of the state of South Carolina we are indebted for the adjustment of the tariff question; without it, all the influence of the Senator from Kentucky, over the manufacturing interest, great as it deservedly is, would have been wholly incompetent, if he had even thought proper to exert it, to adjust the question. The attempt would have prostrated him, and those who acted with him, and not the system. It was the separate act of the state that gave him the place to stand upon; created the necessity for the adjustment, and disposed the minds of all to compromise. Now, I put the solemn question to all who hear me, if the tariff had not been adjusted—if it was now an open question—what hope of successful resistance against the usurpation of the Executive, on the part of this or any other branch of the government, could be entertained? Let it not be said that this is the result of accident—of an unforeseen contingency. It was clearly perceived, and openly stated, that no successful resistance could be made to the corruption and encroachments of the Executive, while the tariff question remained open—while it separated the North from the South, and wasted the energy of the honest and patriotic portions of the community against each other, the joint effort of which is indispensably necessary to expel those from authority, who are converting the entire powers of government into a corrupt electioneering machine; and that, without separate state interposition, the adjustment was impossible. The truth of this position rests not upon the accidental state of things, but on a profound principle growing out of the nature of government and party struggles in a free state. History and reflection teach us, that when great interests come in conflict, and the passions and the prejudices of men are roused, such struggles can never be composed by the influence of any individuals however great; and if there be not, somewhere in the system, some high constitutional power to arrest their progress, and compel the parties to adjust the difference, they go on till the state falls by corruption or violence."

Such was the language I held at that time, when the events were fresh in our recollection, and the Senator heard it and never opened his mouth; yet now, after four years, he rises here and makes the statement we have heard. That I uttered these sentiments before, and that frequently, I am able to show by other facts. But I go further, and shall prove from the Senator's own declaration the truth of what I assert. In 1832, speaking on a bill then on its passage providing for a reduction of the tariff, the Senator declared in his place that he considered that bill as an ultimate adjustment of the question, and yet the whole tariff system was prostrated before the act went into effect; and what effected this prostration? Nothing but the interposition of my own little gallant state—a state of which he has spoken in such contemptuous language. It was the well-known principle of the American system, of which the Senator is the author, that every article which can be manufactured at home was to be protected, and that that protection was to be extended, if possible, even to prohibition. The Senator now says that he continues to think that principle a sound one; and yet the compromise act surrenders by express terms the system of protection; gives up the principle to which the Senator tells us he still adheres, and to the surrender of which the Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. Webster,) if I rightly remember, objected to the compromise. Now, I would ask, what was it that caused the surrender of this principle? It was because I took my stand firmly, resolutely, and refused to compromise at all, unless the principle was given up.

But the Senator tells us that he is among the most consistent men in the world. I am not in the habit of charging others with inconsistency; but one thing I will say, that if the gentleman has not changed *his principles*, he has most certainly changed *his company*; for, though he boasts of setting out in public life a Republican of the school of '98, he is now surrounded by some of the most distinguished members of the old Federal party. I do not desire to disparage that party. I always respected them as men, though I believed their political principles to be wrong. Now, either the gentleman's associates have changed, or he has; for they are now together, though belonging formerly to different and opposing parties—parties, as every one knows, directly opposed to each other in policy and principles. I repeat the assertion, that the Senator's present friends were not only associated with the old federal party, but that they were distinguished members of it, and attained renown from the advocacy and defence of its principles, and, as they have now got together, I leave it to him and them to decide which has changed.

As I am charged with inconsistency, and the charge is so often repeated by the Senator, I will make a brief reply on that point. As it respects the bank charter of 1816, the Senator well knows that at that time the choice was between the use of state banks and a national bank, as the fiscal agent of the government. The state banks were then the fiscal agent, and it was impossible then to break the union between the government and the banks. I acquiesced in what was beyond my control, and inevitable at the time; and as I then, as now, preferred a national to the state banks, I then advocated the former against the latter, as I would now do in the same state of things.

He says I was in favor of the tariff of 1816, and took the lead in its support. He is certainly mistaken again. It was in charge of my colleague and friend, Mr. Lowndes, chairman then of the committee of ways and means, as a revenue measure only. I took no other part whatever but to deliver an off-hand speech, at the request of a friend. The question of protection, as a constitutional question, was not touched at all. It was not made, if my memory serves me, for some years after. As to protection, I believe little of it, except what all admit was incidental to revenue, was contained in the act of 1816. As to my views in regard to protection at that early period, I refer to my remarks in 1813, when I opposed a renewal of the non-importation act, expressly on the ground of its giving too much protection to the manufacturers. But while I declared, in my place, that I was opposed to it on that ground, I at the same time stated that I would go as far as I could with propriety, when peace returned, to protect the capital which the war and the extreme policy of the government had turned into that channel. The Senator refers to my report on internal improvement, when I was Secretary of War; but, as usual with him, forgets to tell that I made it in obedience to a resolution of the House, to which I was bound to answer, and that I expressly stated that I did not involve the constitutional question; of which the Senator may now satisfy himself, if he will read the latter part of the report. As to the bonus bill, it grew out of the recommendation of Mr. Madison in his last message; and although I proposed that the bonus should be set apart for the purpose of internal improvement, leaving it to be determined thereafter, whether we had the power, or the Constitution should be amended, in conformity to Mr. Madison's recommendation, I did not touch the question to what extent Congress might possess the power; and when required to insert a direct recognition of the power by some of the leading members, I refused, expressly on the gound that, though I believed it existed, I had not made up my mind how far it extended. As to the bill, it was perfectly constitutional in my opinion then, and which still remains unchanged, to set aside the fund proposed, and with the object intended, but which could not be used without specific appropriations thereafter.

In my opening remarks to-day, I said the Senator's speech was remarkable, both for its omissions and mistakes; and the Senator infers, with his usual inaccuracy, that I alluded to a difference between his spoken and printed speech, and that I was answering the latter. In this he was mistaken; I hardly ever read a speech, but reply to what is said here in debate. I know no other but the speech delivered here.

As to the arguments of each of us, I am willing to leave them to the judgment of the country; his speech and arguments, and mine, will be read with the closer attention and deeper interest in consequence of this day's occurrence. It is all I ask.

The Senator supposes that some remarks in my letter alluded to the National Republicans, which gave him great offence; but here again he misstates. It alludes to those in power, and not to the National Republican party, which the reading of the entire paragraph will make manifest. Will the Senator send me the letter for that purpose?

"As obvious as all this must appear, I felt that I assumed a heavy responsibility in taking the course I did. It was impossible that all the circumstances and motives under which I acted could at once be generally understood, and, of course, the part I was compelled to take was liable to be misconceived and grossly misrepresented. We have been so long contending against the abuses and encroachments of the Executive power as to forget that they originated in the prior abuses and encroachments of Congress, and were accordingly exclusively intent on expelling from office those who had acquired and exercised their authority in a manner so dangerous, without reflecting into whose hands the power would go, and what principles and policy would gain the ascendancy. With this state of feeling on the part of our friends, I saw it was impossible to take a position which, by consequence, was calculated to cover those in power, however urgent the cause, without occasioning a shock in the first instance, and the imputation of unworthy motives, to meet which, however transient the misapprehension might be, required some resolution and firmness. But there were other and far greater causes, of responsibility, to which this was as nothing. Of all the interests in the community, the banking is by far the most influential and formidable—the most active and the most concentrated and prevailing; of all the points within the immense circle of this interest, there is none in relation to which the banks are more sensitive and tenacious than their union with the political power of the country. This is the source of a vast amount of their profits, and of a still larger portion of their respectability and influence. To touch their interest on this tender point is to combine all in one united and zealous opposition with some exceptions in our portion of the community, where the union of the two powers acts injuriously to banking, as well as to the commercial and other greater interests of the section. To encounter so formidable an opposition, supported by a powerful political party with whom I have been acting for some years against entire power, and who regarded the union of the government and the banks as essential to the union of the states themselves, was to assume heavy responsibility under the most favorable circumstances; but to back and sustain those in such opposition, in whose wisdom, firmness, and patriotism, I have no reason to confide, and over whom I have no control, is to double that responsibility. This responsibility I have voluntarily assumed."

Mr. C. resumed. There is no doubt nor ambiguity; and I thought it so clear, that it would be impossible to misunderstand it; but it seems, in my case, that nothing is too clear for the Senator to misunderstand.

After these remarkable misrepresentations, and after I have shown my sentiments in 1834, fully according with my present sentiments, the Senator makes further charges, which I do not think entitled to respect. My sentiments in 1834 are my recorded sentiments now; and I am willing they should go before the public, and let them judge between the Senator and myself. To them I cheerfully submit the question, without further remarks on what the Senator said in reply to me; and I am the more induced to do so, as I find myself too hoarse to extend my remarks, with any satisfaction to myself or the Senate.

Mr. CLAY said it was very true that the Senator had on other occasions, besides his Edgefield letter, claimed that the influence arising from the interference of his own state had effected the tariff compromise. Mr. C. had so stated the fact when up before. But in the Edgefield letter the Senator took new ground, he denounced those with whom he had been acting as persons in whom he could have no confidence, and imputed to them the design of renewing a high tariff and patronizing extravagant expenditures, as the natural consequences of the establishment of a Bank of the United States, and had presented this as a reason for his recent course. When, said Mr. C. I saw a charge like this, together with an imputation of unworthy motives, and all this deliberately written and published, I could not but feel very differently from what I should have done under a mere casual remark.

But the Senator says, that if I have not changed my principles, I have at least got into strange company. Why really, Mr. President, the gentleman has so recently changed his relations that he seems to have forgotten into what company he has fallen himself. [A laugh] He says that some of my friends once belonged to the Federal party. Sir, I am ready to go into an examination with the honorable Senator at any time, and then we shall see if there are not more members of that same old Federal party amongst those whom the Senator has so recently joined, than on our side of the house. The plain truth is, that it is the old Federal party with whom he is now acting. For all the former grounds of difference which distinguished that party, and were the great subjects of contention between them and the Republicans, have ceased from lapse of time and change of circumstances, with the exception of one, and that is the maintenance and increase of Executive power. This was a leading policy of the Federal party. A strong, powerful, and energetic Executive was its favorite tenet. The leading members of that party had come out of the National Convention with an impression that under the new Constitution the Executive arm was too weak. The danger they apprehended was, that the Executive would be absorbed by the Legislative department of the Government, and accordingly the old Federal doctrine was that the Executive must be upheld, that its influence must be extended and strengthened, and as a means to this, that its patronge must be multiplied. And what, I pray, is at this hour the leading object of that party which the Senator has joined but this very thing? It was maintained in the Convention by Mr. Madison, that to remove a public officer without valid cause, would rightfully subject a President of the United States to impeachment. But now not only is no reason required, but the principle is maintained that no reason can be asked. A is removed and B is put in his place, because such is the pleasure of the President. In a free Government, founded upon the principle of responsibility, the President of the United States is not only practically irresponsible, but does not deign to assign a reason for the exercise of one of the most important functions of Government. Now, if we are to look at things and not at names, then it is certainly true, that the Senator is acting with the old Federal party, which continues in its ancient vocation. If there are some of the Federal party who act with us, it is because they are shocked by the extravagant pretensions of modern democrats to Executive power and prerogative. I can tell the gentleman that he will find the true old Democratic party, who were for resisting the encroachments of power, and limiting Executive patronage, on this side of the Senate, and not with his new allies the Jackson Van Buren democratic party, whose leading principle is to sustain the Executive and deny all power to the Legislature; and which does not hold a solitary principle in common with the republican party of 1798. Yet the Senator, true to the principles of his new allies, is for uniting, by this Government bank, the purse and the sword, and laying both at the feet of the Executive. The Senator tells us that he found banks in existence in 1816, and that he only *acquiesced* in their constitutionality. But, if he acquiesced in it then, why cannot he acquiesce in the same thing now? The banks at that time were not paying specie, the legal connexion between them and the Government had ceased; the whole currency and business of the country were in a state of derangement, just as they are now, yet he *acquiesced* in a Bank of the United States, and he acquiesced again in 1834. Why cannot he acquiesce in 1838? The Senator is fond of the record. I should not myself have gone to it but for the infinite gravity and self-complacency with which he appeals to it in vindication of his own consistency. Let me then read a little from one of the very speeches in 1834, from which he has so liberally quoted, and called upon the Secretary to read so loud, and the Senate to listen so attentively:

"But there is in my opinion a strong if not an insuperable objection against resorting to this measure, resulting from the *fact* that an exclusive receipt of specie in the Treasury would, to give it efficacy, and to prevent extensive speculation and fraud, require an entire disconnexion, on the part of the Government, with the banking system, in all its forms, and a resort to the strong box, as the means of preserving and guarding its funds—a means, if practicable at all in the present state of things, liable to the objection of being *far less safe, economical and efficient* than the present."

Here is a strong denunciation of that very system he is now eulogizing to the skies. Here he deprecates a disconnexion with all banks as a most disastrous measure; and, as the strongest argument against it, says that it will necessarily lead to the antiquated policy of the strong box. Yet, now, the Senator thinks a strong box system the wisest thing on earth. As to the acquiescence of the honorable Senator in measures deemed by him unconstitutional, I only regret that he suddenly stopped short in his acquiescence. He was, in 1816, at the head of the finance committee, in the other house, having been put there by myself, *acquiescing* all the while in the doctrines of a bank, as perfectly sound, and reporting to that effect. He acquiesced for nearly twenty years, not a doubt escaping from him during the whole time. The year 1834 comes: the deposites are seized, the currency turned upside down, and the Senator came forward and proposed as a remedy a continuance of the Bank of the United States for twelve years—here acquiescing once more; and, as he tells us, in order to save the country. But if the salvation of the country would justify his acquiescence in 1816 and 1834, I can only regret that he did not find it in his heart to acquiesce once more in what would have remedied all our evils.

In regard to the tariff of 1816, has the Senator forgotten the dispute at that time about the protention of the cotton manufacture? This very point of that dispute was, whether we have a right to give protection or not. He admits the truth of what I said, that the constitutional question as to the power of the government to protect our own industry was never raised before 1820 or 1822. It was but first hinted, then controverted, and soon after expanded into nullification, although the Senator had supported the tariff of 1816 on the very ground that we had power. I do not now recollect distinctly his whole course in the legislature, but he certainly introduced the bonus bill in 1816, and sustained it in a speech on the subject of internal improvements, which neither expresses or implies a doubt of the constitutional power. But why set apart a bonus if the government had no power to make internal improvements? If he wished internal improvements, but conscientiously believed them unconstitutional, why did he not introduce a resolution proposing to amend the Constitution? Yet he offered no such thing. When he produced his splendid report from the War Department, what did he mean? Why did he tantalize us with that bright and gorgeous picture of canals and roads, and piers and harbours, if it was unconstitutional to touch the plan with one of our fingers? The Senator says in reply, that this report did not broach the constitutional question. True. But why? Is there any other conclusion than that he did not entertain himself any doubt about it? What a most extraordinary thing would it be, should the head of a department, in his official capacity, present a report to both houses of Congress, proposing a most elaborate plan for the internal improvement of the whole union, accompanied by estimates and statistical tables, when he believed there was no power in either house to adopt any part of it.

In conclusion, I repeat the assurance to my friend who sits near me, that I had not the most remote intention of casting the smallest reflection on his state, nor did I, in my own opinion, say any thing which could fairly be so interpreted.

Mr. CALHOUN again rose. Hoarse as he was, he would make a brief reply. The Senator asks why I made that report to Congress? I was under an imperative call from Congress, and could not avoid making it; and I believe that duty was imposed upon me by the Senator from Kentucky.

[Mr. Clay said, No.]

Mr. Calhoun resumed: However that may be, the report was made during the session of 1818–'19, under a call of the House; and it did not involve the constitutional question.

As to the tariff of 1816, I never denied that Congress have the power to impose a protective tariff for the purpose of revenue; and beyond that the tariff of 1816 did not go one inch. The question of the constitutionality of the protective tariff was never raised till some time afterwards.

As to what the Senator says of Executive power, I as much as he, am opposed to its augmentation, and I will go as far in preventing it as any man in this house. I maintain that the Executive and judicial authorities should have no discretionary power, and as soon as they begin to exercise such power, the matter should be taken up by Congress. These opinions are well grounded in my mind, and I will go as far as any in bringing the Executive to this point. But, I believe the Executive is now outstripped by the congressional power. He is for restricting the one. I war upon both.

The Senator says I assigned as a reason of my course at the extra session that I suspected that he and the gentlemen with whom he acted would revive the Tariff. I spoke not of the Tariff, but a National Bank. I believe that banks naturally and assuredly ally themselves to taxes on the

community. The higher the taxes the greater their profits; and so it is with regard to a surplus and the Government disbursements. If the banking power is on the side of a national bank, I see in that what may lead to all the consequences which I have described; and I oppose institutions that are likely to lead to such results. When the bank should receive the money of the Government, it would ally itself to taxation, and it ought to be resisted on that ground. I am very glad that the question is now fairly met. The fate of the country depends on the point of separation: if there be a separation between the Government and banks, the banks will be on the republican side in opposition to taxes; if they unite, they will be in favor of the exercise of the taxing power.

The Senator says I acquiesced in the use of the banks because the banks existed. I did so because the connexion existed. The banks were already used as depositories of the Government, and it was impossible at once to reverse that state of things. I went on the ground that the banks were a necessary evil. The State banks exist; and would not he be a madman that would annihilate them because their respective bills are uncurrent in distant parts of the country? The work of creating them is done, and cannot be reversed; when once done, it is done forever.

We have a law in South Carolina which makes it penal for magistrates to marry, and the penalty is a fine of £100. I was engaged in a case of this sort in court; and although the marriage was illegal, it was not reversed. And yet the Senator considers to be necessarily absurd what I hold to be incontrovertible, that time must be taken even to reverse an unconstitutional act, (practice;) and it may not only be constitutional, but wise to do so. Suppose the tariff, in its objectionable features unconstitutional as I deem them, had been arrested at an individual blow; millions on millions of property would have been sacrificed. And look at all the banks; if they were stopped at once, as the Senator would require if they are unconstitutional, what would not be the consequences? Mr. C. said he would not farther occupy the time of the Senate.

Mr. Clay. I agree that it is unnecessary to consume the time of the Senate; but when I was up I omitted to close the Edgefield letter.

Mr. Calhoun (still standing.) desired to notice one point farther. He was formerly decided in favor of separating the banks and the Government, but it was impossible then to make it, and it would have been followed by nothing but disaster. The Senator says the separation already exists; but it is only contingent; whenever the banks resume, the connexion will be legally restored. In 1834 I objected to the sub-Treasury project, and I thought it not as safe as the system now before us. But it turns out that it was more safe, as appears from the argument of the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. Bayard.) I was then under the impression that the banks were more safe, but it proves otherwise.

Mr. CLAY said, if the Senator would review his speech again, he would see there a plain and explicit denunciation of a sub-Treasury system.

The distinguished Senator from South Carolina (I had almost said my friend from South Carolina, so lately and so abruptly has he bursted all amicable relations between us, independent of his habit of change, I think, when he finds into what Federal doctrines and Federal company he has gotten, he will be disposed soon to feel regret and to return to us,) has not, I am persuaded, weighed sufficiently the import of the unkind imputations contained in his Edgefield letter towards his former allies—imputations that their principles are dangerous to our institutions, and of their want of firmness and patriotism. I have read that singular letter again and again, with inexpressible surprise and regret, more, however, if he will allow me to say so, on his own than on our account.

It is undoubtedly true, Mr. President, that the sudden destruction of any unconstitutional system or measure, which has been long in operation, may lead to serious if not ruinous consequences. But that cannot alter at all the question of constitutional power. If practical inconvenience can authorize you to prolong an unconstitutional system, it may justify its creation; and then all constitutional authority will be merged in considerations of expediency. With respect to the Senator's observation that banks are the natural allies to the protective policy, and to lavish expenditures, I beg leave to oppose *fact* to his theory. The banks are generally owned or controlled by the mercantile class, and that class was always opposed to the protective policy. We found it our most formidable opponent. The merchants were in favor of foreign trade, and were unwilling to see any of its sources dried up. Break down our manufactures, and our importations would increase, and must continue to increase so long as we could find means to pay for them. There are some merchants who, like the Senator from North Carolina, (Mr. Strange,) and my Lord Chatham, I believe it was, wished that not a hob-nail should be made in America. The merchants, too, were generally opposed to the late war, and, undoubtedly, seasons of peace are most favorable to commercial enterprise, as they are to the happiness and prosperity of communities.

Mr. President, I am done; and I sincerely hope that the adjustment of the account between the Senator and myself, just made, may be as satisfactory to him as I assure him and the Senate it is perfectly so to me.

Mr. CALHOUN. I have more to say, but will forbear, as the Senator appears desirous of having the last word.

Mr. CLAY. Not at all.

The Senate then adjourned.

HILLSBOROUGH.

Monday, April 23.

The communication of "A Subscriber" is received, but too late for this day's paper. It will appear in our next.

The Petersburg Intelligencer says that on Monday last they had snow and hail, but that, so far, the fruit had escaped injury; and although the Peach trees have for several years suspended payment, yet he thinks that this year, in spite of Jack Frost, or even Nick Biddle, they will resume and flood the country with their delightful currency. But, alas! we fear he has already seen the end of his hopes Jack Frost paid us a visit on Wednesday and Thursday night, and his orders were peremptory; our Peach trees will not resume this year. We presume the Petersburg Peach trees will be under the necessity of following the example.

The Hon. Robert Strange, in a speech delivered in the Senate on the 6th of March, on the sub-treasury bill, presents, in the form of a tabular statement, the following very important facts:

Losses by the Government by depositing in banks, principal and interest, from 1814 to 1817,		$1,893,642
Depreciation of bills received & paid out, from 1814 to 1817,		6,000,000
Bills of broken banks now on hand, interest thereon not computed,		178,470
Bank of the United States withholding dividend and interest,		233,422
Due May 1st, Treasury and Public Officers,	$31,212,058	
Reported for suit by Secretary under act of October 1816,	4,331,796	
Average discount 6 per cent. on eighteen and a half millions of paper paid out by the banks of deposite on hand in May last,		1,100,000
Average discount on ten millions yet to be paid, say four per cent		400,000
Loss by individuals, from 1814 to 1817, supposed equal to Government,		6,000,000
Total,		14,814,534

This statement is given by Mr. Strange to sustain a new-formed opinion, that the public funds are safer in the hands of individuals, than when deposited in banks. And he here exhibits a supposed loss by the employment of banks, occurring principally between the year 1814 and 1817, of near fifteen millions of dollars, while, he says, the whole amount lost by individual agents, from the foundation of the government to this time, is but three millions of dollars. There seems to be some fallacy in this statement. The twelve millions lost to the government and to individuals by the depreciation of bank bills, was not sustained in consequence of the failure of banks, or an apprehension of their ultimate inability to redeem their notes; but in consequence of the difficulty of converting them into available funds at a distance from the places of their issue, in the absence of a common medium of exchange, such as was furnished by the late Bank of the United States; and which inconvenience, as far as individuals are concerned at least, it is not proposed to remedy by the adoption of the sub-treasury system. And further, if the loss of six millions which individuals are supposed to have sustained by the defalcation of banks, is to be brought in to swell the amount lost by incorporated agencies; why should not some of the hundreds of millions which individuals have lost by the failure of individuals, be also brought in to swell the amount of loss by individual agencies? And again, in pursuing this inquiry of comparative safety, it should be remembered, that during the whole existence of this government, until within the last year, banks have been the depositories of the public funds, and the collectors and other agents were required at short intervals to make deposites in banks; so that at all times there were comparatively but small sums in their hands. We cannot, therefore, tell by past experience, what would be the amount lost to the government if all the public funds were permitted to remain in the custody of individuals for any long period of time.

But we did not take up this matter for the purpose of inquiring into the comparative safety between banks and individuals. The common sentiment of the community will at once decide that question. Does not every one feel more at ease when he has a large sum in the vaults of a bank, than if it were even in his own keeping? And why should he not? He knows that the whole capital of the bank must be squandered by bad management, before one dollar of his money can be lost. No tabular statement will alter this generally received opinion. Our object is merely to suggest a few hints in reference to a very different, though not less important inquiry, towards the elucidation of which the table above quoted affords some very important items. We think they will greatly assist our readers in drawing a comparison between the advantages of a Bank of the United States, and the Deposite Bank system as recommended by General Jackson; and with this view we make a re-statement, thus:

Losses by the Government by depositing in banks, principal and interest, from 1814 to 1817,	$1,893,642
Depreciation of bills received & paid out, from 1814 to 1817,	6,000,000
Bills of broken banks now on hand, interest thereon not computed,	178,470
Losses by individuals, from 1814 to 1817, supposed equal to Government,	6,000,030
Total,	14,071,112

Here is exhibited a loss, sustained by the government and individuals, of more than fourteen millions of dollars, and all this within the short space of three years. Now the first Bank of the United States was in existence from 1791 to 1811, and the second, from 1816 to 1836, making together a period of *forty years*, embracing the whole period from the formation of this government to the present time, with the exception of nine years. At the end of forty years, then, what have been the losses sustained by the government and individuals by these two institutions? Let us sum them up.

Loss to the government by depositing in the United States Bank, from 1791 to 1836,	$0,000,000
Depreciation of United States Bank bills, received and paid out, from 1791 to 1836,	0,000,000
Worthless bills of the United States Bank on hand, principal and interest,	000,000
Loss to individuals, supposed to be equal to government,	0,000,000
Total,	00,000,000

We might add to the above the sum of 233,422 dollars, which Mr. Strange has put down as lost to the government, being the principal and interest of the amount withheld by the Bank to cover the damages on the French bill of exchange bought of the government. But this it would not be right to do, if the Bank is legally entitled to the money; and if she is not, the government knows very well how to recover it. A suit in the Supreme Court of the United States would soon settle the question. It cannot, therefore, be put down as a loss chargeable to the Bank of the United States.

Here, then, is furnished a ratio for the comparison: Loss by State Banks in *three* years, 14,071,112 dollars; loss by the United States Bank in *forty* years, *not one dollar*. And to add strength to the comparison, it may be proper to state the fact, that the ruinous losses occasioned by the inequality of exchanges, were almost entirely dispensed with when the late Bank of the United States was in full operation. By its agency funds could be transmitted to any part of the Union at less than one per cent; thereby rendering it unnecessary to transmit bills of state banks to a distance from the places of their location, and consequently preventing that depreciation in their value, which was so seriously felt between the years 1814 and 1817, and which is now again operating no less seriously. But we intended only to give a few hints, and therefore shall not prolong this article.

A letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, of the 18th of March, has been published in the New York papers, in which he states it to be the settled policy of the department to promote the resumption of specie payments by the banks, by all the means in his power; consequently it will not purchase specie beyond what may be needed for immediate disbursement; will neither horde it, nor compete with others for its possession. What is received in any way, will immediately be paid out again to defray appropriations. These statements, he says, are made, that no injurious apprehensions may be entertained as to the financial operations of the government.

This concession on the part of the Administration has doubtless been brought about by the many unequivocal expressions of public opinion; and we may infer from it that the war against the credit system is about to terminate. What effect it will have in hastening the resumption of specie payments by the banks, we are yet to learn.

Tennessee bank notes were sold in Philadelphia on the 26th ultimo, at *twenty-five* per cent. discount, and Mississippi notes at *thirty* per cent. discount. And this is the "better currency," to provide for which the United States Bank was put down!

Gen. Sutherland, one of the Americans engaged in the late aggressions on Canada, and who was captured and subjected to trial by Court Martial, has been found guilty and sentenced to be executed. The Reformers addressed the new Governor, Sir G. Arthur, on the subject of extending the royal clemency to Sutherland, and two others, Lount and Mathews, who were found guilty with him, and to the other prisoners; but the answer was unfavorable. Lount and Mathews were ordered to be executed on the 12th.

The Bank Convention, recently held at New York, adjourned on the 17th inst. after adopting a resolution fixing on the 1st of January next for the day of general resumption, without precluding any banks from resuming at an earlier period. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 14 states to 4.

The Whigs still victorious.—In the city of New York the Whigs are still victorious. They have elected the Mayor and a majority of the Common Council.

CONGRESS.

Monday, April 9.

In the Senate, the bill to prohibit the giving and accepting of challenges to duels in the District of Columbia, and for the punishment thereof, was read a third time and passed by a vote of 34 to 1, and sent to the other House for concurrence.

The bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands was taken up, and amended by a substitute offered by Mr. Grundy; it was then postponed to Wednesday.

In the House of Representatives, the anti-duelling bill, from the Senate, was read the first and second time, and referred to the judiciary committee.

The naval service appropriation bill was taken up for consideration, and a debate of some length arose on a motion of Mr. Montgomery to recommit the bill to the committee of ways and means for the purpose of obtaining a statement of the precise sum to be expended on the exploring expedition.

Tuesday, April 10.

In the Senate, a bill to extend the charter of the Bank of Alexandria was reported from the committee on the District of Columbia, read, and ordered to a second reading.

A resolution, offered some time since by Mr. Davis, calling on the War Department for information to enable the Senate to determine what fortifications might be diminished or dispensed with, and whether a system of defence by the aid of steam batteries would not be more economical and efficient, was agreed to.

In the House of Representatives, on motion of Mr. Thomas, from the committee on the judiciary, that committee was discharged from the further consideration of the Senate's bill to punish duelling, and the bill was referred to the select committee on the late duel.

The navy appropriation bill was again taken up, and Mr. Montgomery's proposition, modified at the suggestion of Mr. Cambreleng, to reduce the appropriation for the exploring expedition, was negatived—yeas 57, nays 91. The bill was then ordered to be engrossed and read a third time to-morrow.

Wednesday, April 11.

In the Senate, Mr. Grundy gave notice that he should, on Monday next, move to take up the bill to prohibit the issuing and circulation of notes of the late Bank of the United States.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands.

Mr. Clay of Kentucky, spoke at considerable length in opposition to the bill, and to all changes in the land system so long and so successfully in operation.

Mr. Grundy replied in favor of the bill, and offered an amendment providing that it should take effect only on lands already in the market.

This amendment was adopted without a division, although Mr. Clay remarked that it would be nugatory, because the bill itself would establish a principle that would be used in future legislation on the subject.

After a few remarks from Mr. Hubbard, the bill being still up, an executive session was held, and the Senate adjourned.

In the House of Representatives, the report of the committee for the District of Columbia, in opposition to a memorial praying for a retrocession of the District to the states of Virginia and Maryland, was laid on the table.

The navy appropriation bill was read the third time and passed.

A bill from the Senate, for completing the removal of the raft on Red River, was read a third time and passed.

The Cumberland Road bill was debated during the remainder of the sitting.

Thursday, April 12.

In the Senate, Mr. White, from the select committee on the case of Mr. Ruggles, accused of corrupt practices, made a report, concluding with a resolution unanimously approved by the committee, stating that "there is no satisfactory evidence to sustain the charge made by Henry C. Jones against the Hon. John Ruggles, and that it is inexpedient for the Senate to take any further measures in relation thereto."

The bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands was taken up. On motion of Mr. Hubbard, the bill was so modified as to make the minimum price seventy-five cents, and the longest time for any particular process of reduction ten years. The bill was farther amended, so as to limit purchasers under it to one section each; without limit, however, to purchasers at $1 25 per acre. The bill thus amended, was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading—yeas 23, nays 14.

In the House of Representatives, the bill making an appropriation for the continuation of the Cumberland Road was debated at considerable length.

Friday, April 13.

In the Senate, the bill to reduce and graduate the price of the public lands, was read a third time and passed—yeas 27, nays 16. The Senate adjourned to Monday.

In the House of Representatives, Mr. Cambreleng, from the committee of ways and means, reported a bill authorizing the re-issue of treasury notes under the act of 12th October last, which was twice read and committed.

The bill extending the charter of the Union Bank of Georgetown to 1845, was ordered to a third reading.

FROM FLORIDA.

St Augustine, April 6.

Recent arrivals from Jupiter river inform us that the 600 Indians encamped there, "awaiting the decision of the President," have been captured by order of Gen. Jesup. A part of them have been sent to Key Biscayne, (Cape Florida,) the remainder have gone over land to Tampa Bay. They are, in all, 520 in number, men, women, and children; among them 150 to 200 warriors.

A more recent arrival brings information that Colonel Bankhead, with his command, after traversing some "*terrible*" swamps, came up with a body of Indians, number not known, but supposed to be Sam Jones's gang, to whom a flag was sent; but the Indians fired upon the flag. An attempt was then made to surround the Indians, but without success—they escaped.

An express arrived here a few days since from Micanopy, by which we learn that two men have been killed and scalped in that vicinity. The name of one, we understand, was Hogans—we have not learned the name of the other.

It is reported that Nelson's brigade have gone home.

Weekly Almanac.

APRIL.	Sun rises	Sun sets.	MOONS PHASES.	D. H. M.
20 Friday,	5 26	6 34	First	1 4 15 after.
21 Saturday,	5 25	6 35	Full	9 8 40 after.
22 Sunday,	5 24	6 36	Last	17 10 12 morn
23 Monday,	5 23	6 37	New	24 1 43 morn
24 Tuesday,	5 22	6 38		
25 Wednesday	5 21	6 39		
26 Thursday,	5 20	6 40		

Public Notice.

THE Citizens of the South Western end of Orange county will apply to our next County Court, to be held in the town of Hillsborough on the fourth Monday in May next, to alter and establish two places for separate Elections for the convenience of the same, one to be at the dwelling house of John Patterson, esq and the second at the house of Michael Holt, esq. and to continue or discontinue the election now held at Henry Fogleman's, esq. as the Court may think proper.

April 19. 16—

Bacon and Lard.

3,000 lbs. of BACON, and a quantity of LARD,

For sale by

ALLEN PARKS.

April 13. 16—

Notice.

I AM now prepared to settle with the Legatees of the Estate of JOHN LONG, deceased; they are therefore requested to call and receive their respective legacies.

JOHN NEWLIN, *Ex'r.*

April 13. 16—

Pocket Book Found.

A POCKET BOOK containing *Ninety Five Dollars*, was found by James R. Montgomery, near Providence Meeting House in this county, and lodged in the Post Office at Albrights. The owner is requested to come forward, prove property, pay charges, and receive the same.

D. ALBRIGHT, P. M.

Orange county, March 19. 13—$3m

Arkansas Land
FOR SALE.

ONE tract of 160 acres, being the N. W. quarter of Section 31 of Township 10 N. in Range 4 West.

One tract of 160 acres, being the S. W. quarter of Section 26 of Township 8 N. in range 6 West.

For terms, inquire at this Office.

April 11. 16—4w

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.
Orange County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, February Term, 1838.

Durham & Clemmons v. *Thomas A. Wait.* } Original Attachment.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendant in this case is not an inhabitant of this state: It is therefore ordered that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder, for six weeks successively, that unless the said defendant appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the county of Orange, at the court-house in Hillsborough, on the fourth Monday in May next, and plead, answer or demur, judgment by default will be entered against him.

JOHN TAYLOR, *Clerk.*

Price adv. $4 50. 16—6w

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.
Orange County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, February Term, 1838.

Jones & Danforth v. *Harriston H. Harris.* } Original Attachment.

Silas M. Link v. *Harrison H Harris.* } Original Attachment.

Marcus Harris v. *Harrison H Harris.* } Original Attachment.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendant in these suits is not an inhabitant of this state: It is therefore ordered that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder, for six weeks successively, that unless the said defendant appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the County of Orange, at the court-house in Hillsborough, on the fourth Monday in May next, and plead, answer or demur, judgment by default will be entered against him.

JOHN TAYLOR, *Clerk.*

Price adv. $7 50. 16—6w

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,
Orange County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, February Term, 1838.

Trice & King v *James Trice.* } Petition, &c.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendant in this case is not an inhabitant of this state: It is therefore ordered that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder, for six weeks successively, that unless the said defendant appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the county of Orange, at the court-house in Hillsborough, on the fourth Monday in May next, and plead, answer or demur, the said petition will be heard *ex parte*, and decree made accodingly.

JOHN TAYLOR, *Clerk.*

Price adv. $4 50. 16—6w

THE BALTIMORE
Athenæum & Visiter,
A WEEKLY FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

Price Reduced! Blackwood's Magazine at less than One Dollar a year!!

A High-toned family newspaper, that shall ever be free from matter that would demoralize or create an unhealthy appetite in the community, at a price within the reach of all, has long been a desirable object in this country, which is flooded with publications of a character to do little good and we fear much harm. Such a paper the present publisher has endeavored to make the Athenæum and Visiter. But one thing remains for him, and that is to make it so cheap that every one who desires such a paper can afford to take it, and he therefore reduces the price to $2 00 a year in advance; and that clubs may be induced to prefer it, four copies for $5, paid in advance, will be sent to any post office in the Union. And still further to induce a very large subscription, ten copies for $10 will be furnished. Besides the large amount of the very best matter furnished, the whole of Blackwood's Magazine, with the exception of the political articles and such matters as are of no interest, will be published in a single number regularly each month, so soon as the magazine is received in this country, commencing with the January number. It costs to get this magazine from Edinburg, 12 dollars, and it will be furnished to clubs of ten who take our paper at the extraordinary low rate of $1 per annum, including the year's subscription to the paper. The character of Blackwood's Magazine is so well known, that it needs no praise at our hands. To clubs who only want the numbers which contain the magazine, it will be furnished monthly as follows:

10 copies for $5 per annum.
25 " " 10 "

A single subscription for the year will be 75 cents. No paper sent unless the money accompanies the order.

Postmasters or others who will send us ten dollars and ten subscribers, will be entitled to and receive monthly the number containing the whole of Blackwood's Magazine. Or by sending fifteen dollars and fifteen subscribers, will receive the paper free for one year.

Will papers with which we exchange favor us by giving the above a few insertions?

T. S. ARTHUR,
Corner St. Paul's street and Bank Lane, Baltimore.

April 12. 16—

Stop the Runaway!

RAN away from the subscriber, on Friday the 16th instant, a negro boy by the name of GRIFFIN. He was about 21 years of age, five feet nine or ten inches high, and of a dark complexion; has a full face and projecting lips, and speaks very quick. No prominent mark recollected except a scar on one of his legs. He was raised in Virginia, and purchased of Godwin & Templeman. A liberal compensation will be given to any one who will apprehend said boy and deliver him to me, or confine him in any jail so that I can get him.

JOHN A. FAUCETT.

Hillsborough, March 23. 13—3w

List of Letters,

Remaining in the Post Office at Hillsborough, N. C., on the 1st day of April, 1838, which if not taken out in three months, will be sent to the General Post Office as dead letters.

A
Samuel Austell
James Armstrong
James H. Arrington

B
Israel Barker 2
Robert Burnside
Eliza M. Benton
Joseph Boothe, sr.
Andrew Browning
William Brown
Clem Biles

C
Samuel Cole
John H. Crutchfield
Messrs. Collier & Gunter.
William Cabe
James R. Cole or Edward Davis
Susan Cheek
Thomas Cate, of John

D
Willis B. Dilliard
John Z. Davis
Peyton Dockery

E
Nancy Esther

F
Thomas Flint
Philip Forchee
William Finly

G
Green B. Gilbert
Moses Guess
Elizabeth Garrot
Elizabeth C. Graves

H
Right House
Robert Harris
Wm. A. Hanney

J
Charles W. Johnston
Benjamin Johnson
John Johnson
William S. Johnson
Wm. C. Jackson
Russell James
Wm. A. B. Jones

L
Jesse Lewis

M
Thomas Moore
Presley Marcum
Rev. A. A. Mebane

N
John Neal

O
Jesse O'Daniel
John Odend'hal 2

P
Wm. N. or L K Pratt
Thomas Parrish
Anderson Procter
Mary Patterson
Cyntha Pacely
Rev. S. J. Price

R
Robert Rhodes 2
Willie T. Rhodes
Wm. U. Roberts
James Rainey
Joseph Russell
Margaret Revell

S
State of NorthCarolina
F. C. Smith,
William H Smith
Gen. John Smith
Joseph Steel
Fantulena J. Shaw
Herbert Sims
J. Snead
Samuel Strayhorn
John Seebott
Thos. Stephens

T
Hannah Thomson
Mrs. Jane Thomson
Miss Jane Thomson
Danl. W. Thomson
Zach. Trice

U
Anna M. Underhill

V
Thos. Vernon

W
Wm. Wharton
Wm. H. Woods
John W. Woods
James M. Workman
Nelson Whitted
Henry Whitted.

☞ Persons calling for any of the above letters will please say they are advertised.

THOS. CLANCY, P. M.

April 2. 14—

To Stock Breeders.

THE subscriber has an IMPORTED BULL of the Ayrshire breed, now fit for use. He will render service at five dollars per Cow; or to any careful man he would farm him until October next. Argyle is an animal of beautiful form, now in fine health and condition. He was selected in England as the best adapted to our country, the whole stock being remarkable for their easy keep, and fine milking qualities.

I have also an IMPORTED RAM I would farm out the coming season; he is of the Leicester breed, so famous for early maturity, fineness and quantity of their wool, and feeding kindly and profitably for the table.

This stock has been imported at great expense, with the hope of improving the Cattle and Sheep of my native State; and if my fellow citizens do not avail themselves of the opportunity, they must blame themselves, not me.

ALLEN JONES DAVIE.

March 29. 14—

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,
Person County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter sessions, March Term, 1838.

The Petition of the minor children (names not known) of John Easley and wife Susannah, who sue by their next friend and father John Easley, Henry Day and wife Catharine, Alexander Ellexson and wife Mary,

against,

James T. Jones, Nancy Jones, the children o Joseph Jones who repesent their deceased father, William Jones, Parham Brooks and wife Sally, Stephen G. Jones, David Christopher and wife Lucy, Betsy Anna Jones, Leah Jones and Rebecca Jones.

Petition for Settlement.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the defendants, the children and heirs of Joseph Jones, William Jones, the children and heirs of Stephen G. Jones, and David Christopher and Lucy his wife, are not inhabitants of this state, and that the ordinary process of law cannot be served upon them: It is therefore ordered, that publication be made for six successive weeks in the Hillsborough Recorder, that the said defendants appear at the next Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, to be held for the county of Person, at the court-house in Roxborough, on the third Monday of June next, then and there to plead, answer or demur to said petition otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso*, and heard *ex parte* as to them.

Witness Charles Mason, Clerk of said Court, at office, the third Monday of March, A. D. 1838.

CHARLES MASON, *Clerk.*

Price adv. $6 50. 14—

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA.
Person County.

Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, March Term, 1838.

Portius Moore, administrator, &c.
vs.
Heirs at law of Judith Oakley, deceased.

Petition to sell Land.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that the heirs at law of Susannah M'Vey, deceased, (names unknown,) are not inhabitants of this state, and that the ordinary process of law cannot be served upon them: It is therefore ordered by the Court, that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder for six weeks successively, requiring the said heirs at law of Susannah M'Vey, deceased, to appear at the next term of this Court, to be held for the county of Person, at the court-house in Roxborough, on the third Monday in June next, and plead, answer or demur to the petition, otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso* and heard *ex parte* as to them.

Witness, Charles Mason, Clerk of said Court, at office, the third Monday in March, A. D. 1838.

CHARLES MASON, *Clerk.*

Price of Adv. $4 75. 14—

Blanks for sale at this Office.

Boarding House.

A FEW regular Boarders can be accommodated by the subscriber, at the old stand of John Faddis, deceased.

Persons desiring it can also be accommodated during Court week.

THOMAS D. CRAIN.

February 15. 08—

Clock & Watch-making Business, and Jeweller.

THE subscriber thus tenders his sincere thanks to those who have so liberally patronized him since his commencing business in Hillsborough. For a short space he has been withdrawn from his labors by sickness, and would crave the indulgence of those whose work has been thereby delayed. Having been again restored to health, he hopes to be enabled to prosecute his business to the entire satisfaction of all who may favor him with their custom.

He has on hand a good assortment of

Watches, Jewellery, &c.

which he wishes to dispose of on reasonable terms.

Orders from a distance for Watches, or for the execution of work, will be faithfully attended to.

LEMUEL LYNCH.

December 7. 99

To Builders.

THE building of a Brick Court House in Carthage, Moore county, is offered to contractors, who, after examining the subjoined plan and description, will send in sealed proposals to the Commissioners at Carthage, by the 1st day of May ensuing, when the contract must be closed—to wit:

The dimensions of the house, 56 by 42 feet, two stories

The foundation to be of hewn rock, 2 feet above the surface, with a sufficient projection to prevent any injury from the falling of water off the eves, with as much of the foundation laid in lime mortar as shall be deemed necessary.

The pitch of the first story to be 10 feet in the clear, the external course of which is to be laid in lime mortar, and the wall to be 2 feet thick, the lower story to be divided by cross passages into four rooms, with brick walls, each room to be furnished with a fire place.

The cross passage to be 12 feet in the clear, the passage lengthwise to be 10 feet

The wall of the upper story to be 16 inches thick, totally laid in lime mortar, the pitch of which to be 13 feet in the clear, to be divided into three apartments; two jury rooms 9 feet in the clear lengthwise, with lathed and plastered partitions, a fireplace in each; and one or two fireplaces to the Court room.

All the rooms to be ceiled up to the chair board, and finished with plastering and white wash, except the rooms in the lower story, to be ceiled over head.

The jury rooms to be furnished with bench seats, and the court room to be furnished with bar, bench and tables, in such manner and style as the commissioners shall direct.

Each passage door to be furnished with folding shutters

The house to have 30 windows, 24 lights, 10 by 12, with sash and glass over each passage door.

The cap sills and sills of each passage door and all the windows, to be of hewn rock

All the doors to be furnished with pannel shutters, and the windows of the lower story with folding, lined, pannelled shutters, with the necessary locks and fastenings.

One flight of stairs to be 5 feet in width

The boxing and outside cornishing to be fire proof, and all the necessary cornish in the inside furnished.

All the doors to be furnished with best knob locks.

All the rooms below to be furnished with suitable desks and tables.

The sleepers and joists to be 10 by 4, 2 feet from centre to centre. The flooring of quarter plank, 1¼ inch.

The roof to be hipped, well supported and covered with zinc.

The external of the building to be painted red and pencilled.

Steps of hewn rock to be furnished each outside door.

All the wood work belonging to the building to be neatly painted.

The contractor to furnish all the materials and complete the building by the 1st day of August 1839, in a faithful and workmanlike manner.

The payments to be made in suitable instalments as the work progresses

CORNELIUS DOWD, Sr.
WM. MURCHISON,
J. B. KELLY,
S. C. BRUCE,
JOHN MORISON,
} Commiss'rs.

N. B. Lumber can be had in the neighborhood at moderate prices, and rock can be had conveniently in great abundance.

March 16. 12—

STATE OF NORTH-CAROLINA,
Person County.

In Equity—November Term, 1837.

John G. Wade, and others,
vs.
John M. Dick, and others.

IT appearing to the satisfaction of the Court, that James H. Ruffin, one of the defendants in this case, is not an inhabitant of this state: It is therefore ordered, that publication be made in the Hillsborough Recorder for six weeks successively, for the said James H. Ruffin to appear at the next term of this Court, to be held for the county of Person, at the court house in Roxborough, on the seventh Monday after the fourth Monday in March next, and answer to this petition, otherwise the same will be taken *pro confesso* and heard *ex parte*.

JOHN BRADSHER, C. M. E.

Price Adv. $4 00 14—

Earthenware, China and Glass.

THOMAS J. BARROW,
IMPORTER,
No. 35 Nassau Street, New York,

OFFERS for sale a Complete Assortment in the above line, comprising many very choice patterns—repacked to order for country trade, or in the original package. Orders by letter will receive every attention.

New York, January 9, 1838. 06—

Tailoring Business.
REMOVAL.

MR. Levin Carmichael has removed his establishment to the building once occupied by David Yarbrough, esq. as a Dry Goods store, and recently by Dr. Norwood, as a Doctor's Shop. He would take this occasion to return his thanks to the many friends who have bestowed their patronage upon him, and earnestly solicits them to give him a call at his new stand.

The Latest Fashions will be regularly received from New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia; and he has excellent Northern workmen to execute his work. Every attention will be paid to his work, and no effort will be spared to please his patrons. He flatters himself that he has generally succeeded in making his work fit; and he thinks he can insure it to be as well executed as any in the Southern country.

January 23. tf—05

LOOK AT THIS!

LATIMER & MEBANE,

HAVE just received from New York and Philadelphia, and now offer for sale, the largest and best assortment of

Rich and Fashionable
Dry Goods

ever offered in this market; amongst which are almost every article of

STAPLE & FANCY DRY GOODS,

ALSO

Groceries, Hardware,
Queensware, Hats & Shoes,

besides many other articles too tedious to mention. The Goods were principally purchased with cash, and will be sold low for the same.

LATIMER & MEBANE.

September 6. 35—

WILLIAM W. GRAY'S
Invaluable OINTMENT,
FOR THE CURE OF
External Diseases, viz:

White Swellings, Scrofula and other Tumours, Sore Legs and Ulcers, Old and Fresh Wounds, Sprains and Bruises, Swellings and Inflamations, Scalds and Burns, Women's Sore Breasts, Scald Head, Rheumatic Pains, Chilblains, Tetters, Eruptions, Biles, Whitlows—and a most effectual remedy for the removal of Corns,

Also, Beckwith's Anti-Dispeptic Pills,

FOR SALE BY

ALLEN PARKS.

September 8. 35—

Notice.

IT is hoped that all those indebted to the firm of *HUNTINGTON & LYNCH* up to the 1st of October 1837, will call and settle their accounts with the subscriber immediately, as such a settlement is absolutely necessary to the adjustment of their affairs. I hope this notice will not be disregarded

LEMUEL LYNCH.

October 26. 93—

NEW SERIES OF THE
LITERARY OMNIBUS;

FURNISHING BOOKS BY MAIL! AT NEWSPAPER POSTAGE!!!

WALDIE'S Literary Omnibus has now been in existence twelve months, and has enjoyed during that period a very extensive share of public favour. It has furnished *for two dollars and a half*, reprints of London books which cost there over *fifty seven dollars! in addition* to a large amount of literary matter, reviews of new books, tales, and domestic and foreign news.

The original proprietor, intending to devote his time and attention to his other periodical works, has disposed of his interest in the Omnibus to the present publisher, who will make no farther change in its general character than issuing it from another office, and changing its name from "Waldie's" to "Brown's."

Brown's Literary Omnibus will be issued every Friday morning, printed on excellent paper of a large size. It will contain,

1. Books, the newest and best that can be procured, equal every week to a London duodecimo volume, embracing Novels, Travels, Memoirs, &c, and only chargeable with newspaper postage.

2. Literary Reviews, Tales, Sketches, Notices of Books, and information from the world of letters of every description.

3. The news of the week, foreign and domestic.

The price will be two dollars per annum to clubs of five individuals. To clubs of two individuals, two dollars and a half, or five dollars for the two. Single mail subscribers, three dollars. Mail remittances to be post paid.

As the arrangements for this undertaking are all completed, the propietor asks from a generous public that consideration to which so diffusive a scheme of circulating knowledge and amusement is entitled

The first number of the New Series commenced on the fifth of January, 1838, from which period or from any future date new subscribers may commence.

☞ Postmasters and agents for periodicals throughout the Union and Canada are requested to act as agents for the Omnibus, and communicate with the proprietor.

☞ Editors of newspapers who receive this number, by inserting the prospectus four times conspicuously, and forwarding a copy to this office, will be entitled to a free exchange for twelve months.

Address post paid,

WILLIAM BROWN.

No. 50 North Fourth street, Philadelphia.

January 18. 04—

Notice.

I HAVE thought proper to decline the Mercantile business in this place. Those indebted will please close their accounts by bond or otherwise, as no discretion with me can be exercised after a few days.

W. T. SHIELDS, *Agent*
for M. Moderwell.

January 25 03—

Fall and Winter GOODS.

O. F. LONG & Co.

HAVE just received and now offer for sale at their old stand, their Fall and Winter supply, consisting of every variety of Goods usually kept by the merchants of this place, viz:

A large and general assortment of Dry Goods, &c.

COMPRISING

Cloths, Cassimeres,
Satinets,
French & English Merinos,
Figured Circassians,
Calicos,
Black & Coloured Silks,
&c. &c. &c. &c.

ALSO

Hardware and Cuttlery,
Shot Guns,
Hats, and Shoes,
Bonnets,
Crockery,
Cotton Yarn,
School Books, Stationary, &c.

All of which they will sell at the lowest prices for Cash, or on a short credit to punctual dealers only.

November 23. 97—

NEW GOODS.

THE subscriber having opened a store next door west of O. F. Long & Co. is now receiving

A WELL SELECTED ASSORTMENT OF

Dry Goods and Groceries,

recently purchased by him in New York, for cash; which he is determined to sell unusually low for Cash, or Country Produce, such as country Cloth, Feathers, Tallow, and Beeswax for the latter he will give cash, should he not have goods to suit. He hopes that his friends, and those wishing to purchase, will give him a call.

B. CHEEK.

September 28. 89

Land for Sale.

Some person may get a bargain in a TRACT of LAND, containing 400 Acres, 12 miles North West from Hillsborough, and one-fourth of a mile from Mount Pleasant Academy, on the main road to High Rock.

THOMAS REEVES.

March 1 10—

Land for Sale.

THE subscriber offers for sale the TRACT OF LAND wherein he now lives, four miles south east of Hillsborough, containing 300 acres. It has on it a good Dwelling House, Kitchen, and Smoke House, a good Barn, and other out houses. The Plantation is handsomely situated; is well watered, having two streams running through it, and several good springs; and has on it a good Apple and Peach Orchard and a quantity of first rate Meadow.

Persons disposed to purchase are invited to view the premises. Terms will be made known on application to the subscriber.

AARON STRAYHORN.

February 8. 07—

Forwarding Agency.

☞ THE subscribers inform the Merchants of the interior, that they are well engaged in the Forwarding way, and that with the facilities and experience they possess in the transaction of this business, they solicit the patronage heretofore conferred. They have large Ware Houses at the river and in town, for the reception of forwarding Goods apart from other buildings, and comparatively safe from fire.

WILKINGS & BELDEN.
Fayetteville

Refer to
Messrs. ANDREWS & HOLLAND, Hillsborough.

April 5 65—

YEMEN,

WILL stand at the stable of the subscriber, in Orange county, and perhaps at one or two other places a part of the cool season, the places not named; I wait for information from those who expect to put to him, that I may be able to select the best stands before I advertise him. The terms will be low, much more so than any horse of his value—to wit, 30 dollars to insure, and 25 dollars the season, which may be discharged by 20 dollars in the season. The season has now commenced, and will end the 10th of July. I request all those who intend to favor him with their custom, to put early; the advantages are many and great in raising early colts. For blood and performances, see bills.

JAMES MOORE.

January 25 05—

Lemay's Almanacks,
FOR 1838,

Calculated for the Meridian of Raleigh,

FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE.

VERY CHEAP.

December 22 01

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

BY DENNIS HEARTT,

AT THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, OR TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS IF PAID IN ADVANCE.

Those who do not give notice of their wish to have their paper discontinued at the expiration of the year, will be presumed as desiring its continuance until countermanded—and the paper will be discontinued accordingly, if they are paid, unless at the option of the publisher.

Advertisements not exceeding a square, one dollar for the first, and twenty five cents for each subsequent insertion; longer ones in proportion. Court advertisements twenty per cent higher. A deduction of 33⅓ per cent will be made to advertisers by the year.